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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 4855

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TAGS: NATO, PFOR, MARR, EFIN

SUBJ: BURDENSARING STATEMENT

REF: USNATO 4847

TEXT OF THE BURDENSARING STATEMENT CIRCULATED AT THE NAC ON
OCTOBER 10 FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT.

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

U.S. MISSION TO NATO
OCTOBER 10, 1973

A STATEMENT ON BURDENSARING

THE CONCEPT OF BURDENSARING -- OF EQUITABLE APPORTIONMENT
OF THE COSTS OF DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE -- HAS BEEN FUNDAMENTAL
IN THE NATO RELATIONSHIP FROM THE BEGINNING. THE PLEDGE THAT
EACH MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE WILL HAVE THE ASSISTANCE OF ALL
OTHER MEMBERS IN THE EVENT OF ATTACK IMPOSES ON EACH ALLY THE
RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROVIDING ITS FAIR SHARE OF THE COLLECTIVE
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DEFENSE.

IN ARTICLE 3 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, EACH SIGNATORY
PLEDGES "CONTINUOUS AND EFFECTIVE SELF-HELP AND MUTUAL AID" TO

DEVELOP AN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE CAPACITY TO RESIST ARMED ATTACK. THE BURDEN IMPOSED ON EACH MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE, ALTHOUGH A HEAVY ONE, IS FAR LESS THAN EACH WOULD BE FORCED TO ASSUME IF IT SOUGHT TO PROVIDE FOR ITS DEFENSE INDEPENDENTLY ON A NATIONAL BASIS WITHOUT THE HELP OF ALLIES. WHAT IS MORE, AS THE FIRST SACEUR, GENERAL EISENHOWER ONCE REMARKED, THE NATO COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM PROVIDES A BONUS: FOR THE WHOLE DEFENSE STRUCTURE, THIS PEACE-KEEPING MECHANISM IS MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE SUM OF ITS PARTS.

THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUITABLE BURDENSARING HAS BEEN GIVEN RECOGNITION IN THE COMMITMENTS OF FORCES TO SACEUR AND SACLANC BY THE NATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE AND IN THEIR JOINT FUNDING OF THE COSTS OF MANY OF THE ALLIANCE'S INSTALLATIONS AND FUNCTIONS.

AS CONDITION CHANGE, EQUITY REQUIRES A READJUSTMENT OF THE BURDENS OF THE ALLIANCE. IN 1949, WHEN THE ALLIANCE WAS FORMED, WESTERN EUROPE WAS STILL IN THE PROCESS OF RECOVERY FROM THE SEVERE HUMAN AND ECONOMIC LOSSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

TODAY, IN CONTRAST WITH THE SITUATION WHEN THE ALLIANCE WAS FORMED, AND IN PART BECAUSE OF THE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE ALLIANCE, EUROPEAN NATIONS HAVE BUILT THRIVING ECONOMIES AND ENJOY UNPARALLELED PROSPERITY.

IT IS A REMARKABLE SUCCESS STORY. THE AGGREGATE GNP OF OUR NATO ALLIES IS NOW NEARLY EIGHT TIMES WHAT IT WAS IN 1950. DURING THE SAME PERIOD, THE GNP OF THE UNITED STATES HAS INCREASED 4.5 TIMES.

IN 1950, TWO THIRDS OF THE COLLECTIVE GNP OF THE NATO NATIONS WAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES. IN 1973, THE GNP OF OUR NATO ALLIES WAS NEARLY EQUAL THAT OF THE UNITED STATES AND WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY EXCEED IT IN 1974. DESPITE THIS DRAMATIC SHIFT IN THE RELATIVE ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE, THE US HAS CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED LARGE DEFENSE BUDGETS. FOR EXAMPLE, US DEFENSE
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SPENDING IN 1972 WAS ABOUT \$78 BILLION. THE US BUDGET PAYS FOR A SIGNIFICANT CONTINUING GENERAL PURPOSE FORCE CAPABILITY TO REINFORCE OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES IN TIMES OF CRISES, BOTH IN TERMS OF US FORCES IN EUROPE AND IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES. FURTHER, THE US BUDGET INCLUDES WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT NOT ALL US FORCES ARE MAINTAINED SOLELY FOR COMMITMENT TO NATO, IT MUST BE RECOGNIZED THAT THE US FORCE STRUCTURE -- WHEREVER IT MAY BE AND REGARDLESS OF ITS INTENDED USE -- CONTRIBUTES SIGNIFICANTLY TO NATO'S TOTAL DETERRENT CAPABILITY, THUS IS BENEFICIAL TO THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE.

IN EVERY YEAR SINCE 1950 EXCEPT ONE, THE US HAS EX-

PERIENCED A DEFICIT IN THE BASIC BALANCE OF PAYMENT; I.E.,
THE BALANCE ON CURRENT ACCOUNT AND LOGN-TERM CAPITAL MOVEMENTS.
THAT BASIC DEFICIT IN CALENDAR YEAR 1972 WAS \$9.2 BILLION,
FAR GREATER THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER NATO ALLY. IN CALENDAR
YEAR 1971, THE BASIC BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OF THE ALLIANCE,
EXCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, WAS OVERWHELMINLY IN SURPLUS,
AND ALTHOUGH FIGURES FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1972 ARE NOT AVAILABLE
FOR ALL MEMBER NATIONS, IT IS CLEAR THAT ANOUTHER LARGE SURPLUS
WAS RECORDED LAST YEAR. OF THE BASIC DEFICIT, THE MILITARY
BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT OF THE UNITED STATES WITH NATO
EUROPE MADE UP ABOUT 15 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL.

IN RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC AND OTHER CHANGES, THE MEMBER
NATIONS HAVE RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR SHIFTS IN THE ALLOTMENT
OF THE BURDENS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE AND HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME
TAKEN ACTION WHICH HAS RESULTED IN REALLOCATION OF THEM.
THESE REALIGNMENTS HAVE BEEN WIDELY RECOGNIZED IN THE UNITED
STATES AND HAVE MADE A MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTION BOTH TO NATO'S
REAL DEFENSE CAPABILITY AND TO THE BROAD PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL
ACCEPTANCE WHICH THE ALLIANCE HAS ENJOYED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE
ATLANTIC.

THE METHOD BY WHICH THE MAJOR PART OF THE REALLOCATION OF
BURDENS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IS BY CHANGES IN NATIONAL DEFENSE
BUDGETS. IN 1953, THE DEFENSE EXPENDITURE OF THE US CONSTITUTED
77 PERCENT OF THE AGGREGATE DEFENSE SPENDING OF THE NATO ALLIES.
IN 1963, THE US CONTRIBUTION WAS 72 PERCENT OF COLLECTIVE
TOTAL DEFENSE EXPENDITURE. IN 1973, US DEFENSE EXPENDITURE,
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THOUGH CONSIDERABLY ABOVE THE LEVEL OF 20 YEARS OR 10 YEARS
AGO, HAS SHRUNK IN RELATIVE TERMS TO 66 PERCENT OF THE
AGGREGATE TOTAL FOR THE ALLIANCE MEMBERS.

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FURTHERMORE, NATO HAS ACTED COLLECTIVELY IN REDUCING THE US COST SHARE OF NATO INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAM FROM ALMOST 44 PERCENT IN THE EARLY 1950'S TO THE CURRENT 29.67 PERCENT. BEYOND THIS, THE EUROGROUP NATIONS HAVE ACHIEVED A FURTHER PERCENTAGE REDUCTION OF THE US COST SHARE OF THE PROGRAM BY CONTRIBUTING SOME \$450 MILLION DURING THE PERIOD 1971-1975 FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF AIRCRAFT SHELTERS, A PROJECT WHICH HAS CONSIDERABLE US IMPORT.

FINALLY, SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARD MORE EQUITABLE BURDENSARING WAS MADE WITH THE CONSLUSION OF A SERIES OF BILATERAL OFFSET AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE US AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY BEGINNING IN THE EARLY 1960'S. THESE EFFORTS, WHICH HELPED TO OFFSET THE CONTINUING BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT ON MILITARY ACCOUNT THAT ACCRUES TO THE US AS A RESULT OF STATIONING FORCES ABROAD, AVE BEEN WIDELY ACKNOWLEDGED AMONG AMERICAN CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC OPINION FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO BURDENSARING.

1970: A LANDMARK YEAR IN BURDENSARING

IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1960'S, PROGRESS IN
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STRENGTHENING ALLIANCE DEFENSE AND IN EQUITABLY SHARING BURDENS BEGAN TO FALTER. THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AND CANADA COLLECTIVELY FAILED TO INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING ENOUGH TO KEEP UP WITH INFLATION. THE US, THOUGH SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASING ITS DEFENSE EXPENDITURE, DID SO BECAUSE OF ITS INVOLVEMENT IN WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

IN 1970, NATO'S ENERGY WAS RENEWED IN A SERIES OF INITIATIVES WHICH INVOLVED IMPORTANT PROGRESS TOWARD READJUSTMENT OF THE BURDENS OF THE ALLIANCE. IN THE SUMMER OF AND FALL, NATO UNDERTOOK A STUDY OF ALLIANCE DEFENSE PROBLEMS OF THE SEVENTIES (AD-70) WHICH REVEALED A NUMBER OF AREAS REQUIRING IMPROVEMENT IN NATO'S DEFENSE FORCES. AS A RESULT, A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM TO REMEDY WEAKNESSES IN THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE WAS LAUNCHED IN DECEMBER 1970. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THAT GIVEN A SIMILAR APPROACH BY THE ALLIES, THE UNITED STATES WOULD MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE ITS FORCES IN EUROPE AND NOT REDUCE THEM UNLESS THERE WERE RECIPROCAL FORCE REDUCTIONS BY THE WARSAW PACT. THE EUROGROUP ALSO CAME FORWARD WITH THE EUROPEAN DEFENSE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM (EDIP) IN DECEMBER OF THAT YEAR. IN THE MEANTIME, THE FRG CONTINUED ITS PARTIAL NEUTRALIZATION OF THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM

THROUGH ITS OFFSET PROGRAM WITH THE US. US FORCES IN EUROPE, WHOSE COMBAT CAPABILITIES HAD FALLEN DURING THE BUILD-UP IN VIETNAM, NOW BEGAN TO IMPROVE AS THE VIETNAMIZATION PROGRAM PROCEEDED.

BURDENSARING: THE CURRENT SITUATION

CURRENTLY, IN CALENDAR YEAR 1973, ESTIMATED US DEFENSE EXPENDITURE EQUALS 66 PERCENT OF ESTIMATED AGGREGATE DEFENSE EXPENDITURE OF NATO ALTHOUGH GNP OF THE UNITED STATES IS ABOUT 53 PERCENT OF THE AGGREGATE GNP OF NATO NATIONS. WHEN I POINT OUT SUCH FACTS, I DO NOT MEAN TO DENY THAT MOST OF THE EUROPEAN NATO NATIONS BEAR A SUBSTANTIAL BURDEN OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURE. AS I HAVE REMARKED, THEY HAVE INCREASED THEIR SHARE OF COMMON BURDEN, NOTABLY SINCE 1970. LARGE NUMBERS OF INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE, AND THERE ARE OTHER FACTS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN A DISCUSSION OF BURDENSARING. FOR EXAMPLE, IF ONE COUNTS ALLIED NAVAL VESSELS AND AIRCRAFT IN

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EUROPE, BY FAR THE GREATER PART IS FURNISHED BY THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. NATURALLY, THIS METHOD OF ACCOUNTING IGNORES QUALITATIVE FACTORS AND DIFFERENCES IN COMBAT CAPABILITY. NO NAVAL COMMANDER WOULD REGARD A MINESWEEPER AS THE EQUAL TO AN AIRCRAFT CARRIER OR A NUCLEAR SUBMARINE.

FINALLY, SOME CITE A FIGURE OF \$17 BILLION## WHICH THE U.S. DEFENSE DEPARTMENT HAS GIVEN AS THE CURRENT ANNUAL COST OF OUR CONVENTIONAL FORCES COMMITTED TO NATO. TO THE EUROPEAN ALLIES WHO ARE SPENDING AN ESTIMATED AGGREGATE \$36 BILLION FOR DEFENSE IN CALENDAR YEAR 1972, THESE FIGURES ARE SOMETIMES INTERPRETED AS INDICATING THAT NATO EUROPE SPENDS TWICE AS MUCH AS THE U.S. FOR THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE, AND THAT MANY WOULD SAY, REPRESENTS EQUITABLE BURDENSARING.

THIS ASSESSMENT IS AN INADEQUATE MEASURE OF THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO DEFEND THE NATO TREATY AREA AND WHICH IN ITS TOTALITY SERVES TO DETER ANY POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR AND TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN EUROPE. IT FAILS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT THE NORTHERN ATLANTIC OCEAN AND NORTH AMERICA DOWN TO THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF THE U.S. ARE WITHIN THE NATO TREATY AREA. IT ALSO FAILS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT, WITH THE END OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, THERE IS LITTLE IN OUR DEFENSE FORCES THAT WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE, IF NEED BE -- INCLUDING OUR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES. OUR COMMITMENT TO NATO -- AS THAT OF OTHER ALLIANCE MEMBERS -- IS A NATIONAL COMMITMENT. THUS IT IS SOMEWHAT ARTIFICIAL TO SEPARATE OUT SOME PORTION OF THE U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET AS OUR EXPENDITURE ON NATO DEFENSE.

THIS FIGURE INCLUDES:

ALL THE U.S. GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES AND RELATED SUPPORT
ELEMENTS AND HEADQUARTERS IN EUROPE.

SOME OF THE U.S. GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES (BOTH ACTIVE AND
RESERVE) THAT ARE FORMALLY COMMITTED TO NATO BUT ARE NOT IN EUROPE.

VARIABLE COSTS OF U.S.-BASED SUPPORT INCLUDING TRAINING,
INDIVIDUAL SUPPORT AND LOGISTICS FOR THE ABOVE FORCES.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (INCLUDING GREECE
AND TURKEY) AND THE NATO INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAM.

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OUR AIM IN ADVANCING A NEW BURDENSARING INITIATIVE IS NOT
TO DECREASE OUR OWN DEFENSE EFFORTS AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR ALLIES.
WHAT THE U.S. IS SEEKING IS FURTHER PROGRESS ALONG THE PATH THAT
NATO HAS BEEN FOLLOWING.

THE UNITED STATES IS CONVINCED THAT A STRONG AND CREDIBLE
CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE IS BOTH FEASIBLE AND ESSENTIAL. WE ARE
COMMITTED TO ACHIEVING THAT GOAL IN TERMS OF CONCRETE IMPROVEMENTS
IN SPECIFIC AREAS OF ALLIANCE DEFENSE. THESE EFFORTS MUST NOT
FLAG.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE REALITIES OF AMERICA'S DEFENSE BURDENS
MUST BE SQUARELY FACED. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THESE ARE NOT UNIQUE
TO THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, MANY AMERICANS HAVE EXPRESSED
WIDESPREAD CONCERN OVER THE ECONOMIC BURDENS RESULTING FROM OUR
TROOP PRESENCE IN EUROPE. THE RECENT JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT

LINKING THE REDUCTION OF U.S. FORCES DIRECTLY TO THE U.S. MILITARY
BOP DEFICIT IS A REFLECTION OF THAT CONCERN.

THERE ARE TWO AREAS OF MAJOR INTEREST: ONE IS THE MILITARY
BALANCE OF PAYMENT DEFICIT ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE PRESENCE OF U.S.
FORCES IN NATO EUROPE. THIS CAME TO APPROXIMATELY A GROSS AMOUNT
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OF \$2.1 BILLION IN FISCAL YEAR 1972 WITH THE PROBABILITY THAT THE
FINAL FISCAL YEAR 1973 FIGURE WILL BE HIGHER.

THE OTHER ECONOMIC BURDEN IS THE ROUGHLY \$400-500 MILLION OF
ADDED ANNUAL BUDGETARY COSTS RESULTING FROM THE STATIONING OF FORCES
IN EUROPE RATHER THAN IN THE U.S.

THESE COMMENTS ARE DIRECTED TO WHAT SECRETARY KISSINGER
SAID IN HIS APRIL 23 SPEECH:

"THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO STATE THAT AMERICA REMAINS
COMMITTED TO DOING ITS FAIR SHARE IN ATLANTIC DEFENSE
HE IS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO UNILATERAL WITHDRAWALS OF U.S.
FORCES FROM EUROPE. BUT WE OWE TO OUR PEOPLES A RATIONAL
DEFENSE POSTURE, AT THE SAFEST MINIMUM SIZE AND COST, WITH
BURDENS EQUITABLY SHARED. THIS IS WHAT THE PRESIDENT
BELIEVES MUST RESULT FROM THE DIALOGUE WITH OUR ALLIES IN
1973."

I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN NOW SAY THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUITABLE
BURDENSARING IS BROADLY RECOGNIZED AND AGREED AMONG ALLIED
STATESMEN. I FIND IT ENCOURAGING TO READ IN THE IMPORTANT
STATEMENT ISSUED ON OCTOBER 2, 1973 BY THE COMMITTEE OF 9 OF THE
NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY:

"CREDIBLE DETERRENCE IS CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH THE CONTINUED
PRESENCE OF SUFFICIENT NORTH AMERICAN CONVENTIONAL FORCES
IN WESTERN EUROPE AS PART OF A SUBSTANTIAL MILITARY FORCE
COMPOSED OF WEST EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN COMPONENTS.
THIS DEPLOYMENT IS ALSO RELATED TO THE ISSUE OF AN EQUITABLE
SYSTEM OF NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS (BOTH MILITARY AND ECONOMIC)
TO THE COMMON DEFENSE -- A MATTER WHICH REMAINS A PROBLEM.
THE COMMITTEE BELIEVES THAT NO MEMBER-NATION STATIONING
TROOPS ABROAD IN THE COMMON DEFENSE SHOULD SUFFER SIGNIFICANTLY
IN ITS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DUE TO THE FOREIGN-EXCHANGE
COSTS OF SUCH DEPLOYMENT."

IT IS NOT ENOUGH MERELY TO RECOGNIZE THIS PROBLEM IN PRINCIPLE
AND TO FIND LANGUAGE THAT SPELLS IT OUT IN THE ABSTRACT IN A
GENERALLY ACCEPTED MANNER. IT WILL REQUIRE AN ACT OF POLITICAL
WILL AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS TO REACH THE AGREEMENTS NECESSARY TO
ALLOW THE TECHNICIANS TO PUT THE PRINCIPLE IN PRACTICE.

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THE UNITED STATES HAS NO PRECONCEIVED PLAN AS TO HOW NATO SHOULD SOLVE THIS PROBLEM. THIS IS A MATTER ON WHICH THE ALLIES MUST MAKE THE DECISION AND TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION. THE UNITED STATES ASKS ITS ALLIES TO DEVISE THE MEANS BEST SUITED TO THEM TO SHARE ON A BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL BASIS THE SPECIFIC ECONOMIC BURDENS WHICH RESULT FROM THE STATIONING OF ITS FORCES IN EUROPE. THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO ASSIST THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THIS ENDEAVOR, AND U.S. REPRESENTATIVES ON THE WORKING GROUP ON MULTILATERAL BURDENS SHARING ARE AT THE GROUP'S DISPOSAL TO ANSWER TECHNICAL QUESTIONS AND TO ASSIST THE ALLIANCE MEMBERS IN THEIR CONSIDERATION OF THESE ISSUES.

I WISH TO EMPHASIZE, HOWEVER, THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT GET BOGGED DOWN IN TECHNICAL DETAILS AND DEFINITIONS. THE TIME TO QUESTION THE SERIOUSNESS OF THIS PROBLEM -- IN TERMS OF EQUITY AND OF ITS EFFECT ON INFLUENTIAL OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES -- IS LONG PAST. OUR TASK NOW IS TO FIND SOLUTIONS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE PUT BEHIND US THE CHRONIC IRRITATIONS WHICH THESE CONCERNS CAUSE SO WE CAN CONCENTRATE THE EFFORTS OF THE ALLIANCE ON THE VITAL TWIN PROBLEMS OF DEFENSE AND DETENTE WHICH WE FACE. END TEXT
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